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# PHARAONIC EGYPT

## THE BIBLE AND CHRISTIANITY

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# INTERCESSORY PRAYER IN ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE BIBLE

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The Late Ramesside Letters<sup>1</sup> show a picture of a community trying to protect one of its endangered members by praying for him. The scribe Dhutmose of the Royal Tomb<sup>2</sup> was summoned to the war in Nubia<sup>3</sup>. On his dangerous journey<sup>4</sup>, and again when travelling to Middle Egypt<sup>5</sup>, Dhutmose wrote home asking his correspondants to pray for him<sup>6</sup>.

Intercession is characterised by one person undertaking to pray to a god to help another person<sup>7</sup>. For example, Dhutmose's son Butehamun prays to the god Amun to help Dhutmose. Now, if Dhutmose were to pray for himself, this would not be intercessory prayer. If Dhutmose's son were simply to send him secular good wishes, this would not be intercessory prayer either, since it would omit the god. And if Dhutmose's son were to lose his temper, and pray to the god to curse his father, this again would not be intercessory prayer since the content of intercessory prayer is essentially helpful.

Intercession for Dhutmose is usually described by the verb *dd*, followed by the words spoken<sup>8</sup>, less often by the verbs *sm3'*, to pray or sacrifice<sup>9</sup>, or *swmn*, to coax, perhaps to plead<sup>10</sup>. Mostly his correspondants pray *jn.f*, bring him back<sup>11</sup>, or *šd.f*, save him<sup>12</sup>, often adding that he should come back safe<sup>13</sup>, or describing the dangers which threatened him<sup>14</sup>. Dhutmose and his family prayed for his homecoming, describing it in glowing detail<sup>15</sup>. They prayed for the gods of Nubia to hand him over to the Theban god, Amun of the Thrones of the Two Lands<sup>16</sup> in his temple courtyard<sup>17</sup> and there Dhutmose would embrace his family and friends<sup>18</sup>. There may have been some sort of ceremony for travellers returning from a dangerous journey, where they went to their local temple, were returned to the care of their local god, perhaps gave thanks for

their safe return, and were reunited with their family<sup>19</sup>.

Those who pray for Dhutmose are his nuclear family<sup>20</sup>, his more distant relations<sup>21</sup> and his friends<sup>22</sup>. Once he asks his correspondants to take *n3 'dd.w šrj.w*, the tiny children<sup>23</sup> to pray with them in the temple for his safe return<sup>24</sup>; these might have been their own toddlers<sup>25</sup> or wards of the temple<sup>26</sup>. Their prayer is described by the word *swwn*, to coax or plead; perhaps Dhutmose felt this touching sight would melt the god's heart towards him?

The gods to whom one prays for Dhutmose are Theban, i.e., different forms of Amun, combined with the gods of Deir el-Medineh<sup>27</sup>. Nubian gods are only addressed twice in this context<sup>28</sup>. Given that, in the descriptions of Dhutmose's homecoming, they are said to "hand over" Dhutmose to his local god<sup>29</sup>, one might have thought that these would be the gods called on to protect him; but Dhutmose's loyalties lay entirely with his own familiar Theban gods.

The Late Ramesside letters site intercessory prayer in the temple courtyard<sup>30</sup> and connect it with a rite called "taking water" to the god.<sup>31</sup> Dhutmose reminds his son Butehamun not to neglect this practice<sup>32</sup>, and Butehamun replies that he is doing it twice or thrice a week<sup>33</sup>; presumably this ranked as being quite pious.

To pray, one probably did not need to be ritually pure. The priest Amenhotpe says he is praying for Dhutmose when he is "pure, standing before (the god) Amenhotpe"<sup>34</sup>, but I suspect the point he was making was that he was praying whilst carrying out his priestly duties; this would have allowed him to address the cult statue in person, a privilege not granted to ordinary worshippers<sup>35</sup>.

The prayers offered for Dhutmose presuppose that the gods of Thebes were willing and able to protect their worshippers in every land, from every danger<sup>36</sup>. Dhutmose appears to have stood in a special relationship to the god Amun of the Thrones of the Two Lands. The god is called his "lord"<sup>37</sup> and Dhutmose his "faithful servant", *p3jj.f b3k 3h*<sup>38</sup>. The word *b3k* means a layman who honoured a certain god by, for example, setting up a stela to him or participating in his religious rites<sup>39</sup>. Dhutmose's devotion to Amun of the Thrones of the Two Lands<sup>40</sup> was apparently shared by his son Butehamun, who describes himself in a graffito as a servant of this form of Amun<sup>41</sup>. Dhutmose's return is explained in terms of this relationship, that the Nubian gods would hand him over to Amun of the

Thrones of the Two Lands, "for indeed, you are his faithful servant"<sup>42</sup>, the implication being that this saving act was a gracious response to Dhutmose's faithful worship<sup>43</sup>.

One would like to imagine that these prayers were successful, that Dhutmose did return safely to Thebes and had the family reunion which he had dreamed of, but such is not certain. A graffito by his son Butehamun hints that Dhutmose may have come to a sad end. He says to their patron god, "Look after my flesh. Let me reach the revered state. Do not do what you did to my father...Dhutmose."<sup>44</sup>

Like most letters from the Middle Kingdom onwards<sup>45</sup>, the Late Ramesside letters open with formal blessings. These, too, are a type of intercessory prayer, addressing a god and asking him to bless the recipient of the letter. Doubtless varying degrees of piety and cordiality came into play.

The Late Ramesside letters, being written by Thebans, invoke mostly Amun-Re 'King of the Gods, combined with other Theban gods. Even when the writer is away from home, he very seldom turns to the local gods in prayer<sup>46</sup>. After invoking life, prosperity, health and the favour of the gods upon the reader, the writer states that he is praying to the gods to favour his correspondant, usually with life, prosperity and health, long life, good old age and favour before gods and men<sup>47</sup>.

The writers claim to say these blessings daily<sup>48</sup>. Intercessory prayer in a solar context may have taken place at sunrise and sunset, as indicated by the phrase "at his rising and at his setting" which qualifies prayers to the sun-god Re'-Harakhte<sup>49</sup>. The relation of this prayer to the official solar cult is still unknown<sup>50</sup>. One might pray while travelling<sup>51</sup> -perhaps at wayside shrines<sup>52</sup>, since senders often claim to pray for their correspondants to "every god and every goddess by whom I pass"<sup>53</sup>.

The Late Ramesside letters form part of a much larger corpus of personal documentation of the builders of the Royal Tombs. Intercessory prayer only appears rarely<sup>54</sup> in their correspondance, apart from the formal blessings which head their letters, and this is even stranger in that they definitely envisaged prayer as a viable solution to their problems. For example, the draughtsman Pay, about two hundred years before the Late Ramesside letters<sup>55</sup>, had eye trouble. He wrote to his son to send him some honey for ointment<sup>56</sup>, although he said nothing about



prayer. The same Pay also set up a stela<sup>57</sup> to the god Khons Neferhotep, saying: "You have made me see darkness of your making"<sup>58</sup>, and praying for his sight to be restored.

Two explanations come to mind for the unique stress on intercession in the Late Ramesside letters. Firstly, precisely because Dhutmose was so far away, he had to be reassured by telling him explicitly that his family and friends were praying for him. Most of the workmen's correspondence was local; this written reassurance was unnecessary.

Secondly, Dhutmose's dangers were understood simply as misfortunes, and not necessarily caused by the god. Illness might also be understood in this way -as Dhutmose describes his own illness in Nubia<sup>59</sup>- but sickness was often understood as a divine punishment for sin<sup>60</sup>, as Pay interpreted his blindness. The German Egyptologist Jan Assman suggests that the sick man would make his peace with the god by public confession<sup>61</sup>. This seems to have been the sufferer's own responsibility; votive stelae, with penitential prayers, or thanksgiving for prayers answered, are usually in the first person.

The best known intercessory prayer in this context is the stela of Nebre<sup>62</sup>, whose son Nakhtamun fell dangerously ill after having sinned against Amun. A penitential ceremony was undertaken<sup>63</sup>, Nakhtamun recovered and Nebre promised to set up a commemorative stela in public acknowledgement of the god's might. The stela shows Nebre praying to the god Amun in the temple forecourt<sup>64</sup>. The story of Nakhtamun's illness and miraculous cure is preceded by three hymns to Amun -perhaps those composed when Nakhtamun was ill<sup>65</sup>- and followed by a hymn of praise to Amun the merciful<sup>66</sup> and an account of the vow now fulfilled. In this context the stress is very much on the god's patience and readiness to forgive. "The Lord of Thebes is not angry for a whole day. He is angry for a moment and nothing remains."<sup>67</sup>

When we look at a wider range of Egyptian sources, we see other types of intercessory prayer which are not prominent in the Late Ramesside letters. For example, intercession appears as an expression of gratitude. The term used is *dw3 ntr n...*, to praise God for, often translated "to thank"<sup>68</sup>, but "to bless" might be a better translation, since more detailed examples in this context show that what was said was an intercessory prayer. For example, "I have heard of the many good things you did for my ship when you sent it. May Mont favour you; may Pre' your good

lord favour you"<sup>69</sup>.

To say *dw3 ntr* might be a direct response to someone's generosity, such as blessing the one who gives presents<sup>70</sup>; the blessing might come at a turning-point in a relationship, when one sums up all a friend's past kindnesses, as the Shipwrecked Sailor, when he says goodbye, thanks the kind snake who has looked after him<sup>71</sup>; or the child starting school in the Satire of the Trades is invited to bless his parents who are now setting him out on the path of life<sup>72</sup>.

Saying *dw3 ntr* for the king is common; many royal and private inscriptions bless the king for successful diplomatic arrangements<sup>73</sup>, building projects<sup>74</sup>, and personal favours to his officials<sup>75</sup>.

Blessing might appreciate a man's character rather than his actions: his piety, for example<sup>76</sup>. The Demotic Papyrus Insinger even suggests blessing those who harm. "When a wise man is stripped, he gives his clothes and blesses"<sup>77</sup>.

Greetings and farewells are yet another type of intercession. For instance, the Eloquent Peasant, on finding the High Steward leaving the temple of Harsaphes, says to him, "O favoured one, may Harsaphes favour you, from whose temple you have come!"<sup>78</sup>.

When we look at the social setting of intercessory prayer in Ancient Egypt, it seems that much the same sort of people pray for each other as in the Late Ramesside letters. Relatives pray for each other -for instance, a man records that his father's prayers years ago that he should reach old age have now come true<sup>79</sup>. Colleagues pray for one another, particularly those undertaking new activities, such as the recently appointed official, who is addressed, "May Pre' Harakhte grant you a long spell of life in the post of your father!"<sup>80</sup>.

Intercession for the king was part of the cult<sup>81</sup>, and prayers for him might appear on royal<sup>82</sup> and private monuments<sup>83</sup>. The king does not pray explicitly for the people as a whole<sup>84</sup>, but the correct performance of his duties would achieve the same ends<sup>85</sup>. Apart from his official role, however, the king might sometimes pray himself for relatives and close friends. King Ramses III, for instance, prays for his son to accede to the throne without difficulty<sup>86</sup>.

Wisdom texts even recommend those who aspired to real holiness to pray for the wicked, as in Papyrus Insinger, where the wise man blesses those who rob him, and in a passage from the Wisdom of Amenemope which

may be understood as prayer for the hot man<sup>87</sup>.

In theory, intercession for anybody was possible; in practice, it focused on people of one's own standing. Prayer might intercede, to meet another's need, or bless, to appreciate their kindness.

The gods are addressed in the optative, or imperative, whereas humans are also asked for favours by "polite request" constructions<sup>88</sup>.

The structure of Egyptian prayers is still not yet completely clarified<sup>89</sup>. Blessings at the start of Late-Egyptian letters are rigidly structured; the prayers of the Late Ramesside letters are short, requests and brief explanations, but no general patterns can be established which fit all examples.

Apart from the prayer for the king and mortuary prayer, intercessory prayer does not seem to have been part of the cult. One might, therefore, pray anywhere, although the temple courtyard was nonetheless preferred<sup>90</sup>.

For the sake of comparison, I shall now make a brief survey of some aspects of intercessory prayer in the Bible. Biblical intercession can be quite brief, like the prayers in the Late Ramesside letters. Unlike in Egypt, the structure of intercessory prayer is quite similar to asking favours from other human beings, both God and man being addressed with similar polite phraseology<sup>91</sup>. The prayers consist of an imperative or optative and an address to the God of Israel<sup>92</sup>; for instance, when Miriam is struck by leprosy as a punishment for gossiping about Moses, Moses prays, "Heal her now, O God, I beseech thee" (Num., XII, 13).

In this context it is often simply recorded that someone prayed for someone else and their prayers were answered<sup>93</sup>, for example, "Abraham prayed to God, and God healed Abimelech" (Gen., XX, 17). These brief petitionary prayers are reactions to someone else's crisis, their illness<sup>94</sup>, as when Elijah prays for the widow's son, "O Lord my God, I pray thee, let this child's soul come to him again!" (1K., XVII, 21), or prayer might be a response to a plague<sup>95</sup>, "And Moses went out of the city from Pharaoh, and spread out his hands to the Lord, and the thunders and hail ceased, and the rain was not poured upon the earth" (Ex., IX, 33).

If the whole people was endangered, a prophet<sup>96</sup> or king<sup>97</sup> might intercede for them, on their own initiative<sup>98</sup> or at the people's request<sup>99</sup>.

For example, when God threatens to destroy the Israelites for building the Golden Calf, Moses prays, "O Lord, why are you furious against your people whom you brought out of the land of Egypt with great power

and a mighty hand? Why should the Egyptians say, "He brought them out for evil, to kill them in the mountains and consume them from the face of the earth". Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people. Remember Abraham, Isaac and Israel, thy servants, to whom you swore by your own self..." (Ex., XXXII, 11-13).<sup>100</sup>

Here the address to God and request, "repent of this evil against thy people", is slotted into a larger structure of supporting arguments: the miracles which God has performed will be in vain if he destroys the Israelites; the possibility that God's enemies will interpret this step not as a sign of God's judgement but of his malevolence, and the memory of the Israelites' ancestors, God's faithful servants, to whom he has committed himself<sup>101</sup>. In Egyptian sources, arguments relating to the historical relationship of God and his people do not appear, and neither does prayer for the people as a whole.

Mostly, intercessors are holy men; Abraham prays for Abimelech, Elijah for the widow's son. The holy man might also lead the community in penance and fasting<sup>102</sup>, as Samuel "said, "Gather all Israel to Mizpeh, and I shall pray for you to the Lord". And they gathered together to Mizpeh, and drew water, and poured it out to the Lord, and fasted on that day, and said there, "We have sinned against the Lord"" (1 Sam., VII, 5-6). This pattern does not exist in Egypt. Although the sage Amenhotpe son of Hapu, for instance, mediates people's prayers to the gods<sup>103</sup>, he does not take it upon himself to pray for them.

The intercession of the holy man, in direct communion with his god, is not necessarily tied to place. But what did the ordinary Israelite do when he wanted to pray for someone else? Presumably, much the same as he did when he prayed for himself; but that is uncertain, since the relationship of cultic and private prayer in the Bible is still dubious. Some commentators suggest that individual prayer outside the cult was minimal<sup>104</sup>; when the ordinary man was in trouble, he visited the temple and recited, or had a liturgical singer recite for him<sup>105</sup>, a set prayer composed by experts<sup>106</sup>. Others suggest that, if one went to pray at the temple, one might well opt for the perfection of an expert's version, but that at the temple, and outside it, it was also possible to pray spontaneously<sup>107</sup>, along appropriate lines<sup>108</sup>. Hannah, for example, improvises a prayer to God for children (1 Sam., I, 10-11), and when her prayer is fulfilled, she recites a formal psalm of thanksgiving (1 Sam.,



II,1-10): Her prayers are interpreted by some as evidence for the ordinary worshipper's ability to pray at any formal level he wished<sup>109</sup>; others suggest she needed to go to the temple during a feast to be able to pray at all<sup>110</sup>. Questions relating to the cult are sufficiently vexed both in Egyptology and Biblical studies not to press comparisons. However the priest Amenhotpe in the Late Ramesside letters thinks that his prayers for Dhutmose are special because he can enter the sanctuary<sup>111</sup>; ordinary people in the Egyptian sources do not feel any need of a priestly intermediary<sup>112</sup>, nor do they feel that the prayers of the priest are special per se.

There are instances of ordinary people praying for themselves<sup>113</sup>: Samson's father, to be told how to bring up his son (Judges, XIII, 8); sailors in a storm for safety (Jonah, I, 5), but intercession by ordinary people is fairly rare<sup>114</sup>. Daniel's friends pray for him to understand the king's dream (Dan., II, 17-18); David prays and fasts<sup>115</sup> for the life of Bathsheba's child, who is struck down for his sins<sup>116</sup> (2 Sam., XII, 15-23). Might any father pray for his sick child?<sup>117</sup> Or was David, as a king, a special case? It seems, at least, that intervention between God and the object of his wrath was the special province of the holy man.

As in Egypt, one might intercede for people by blessing them<sup>118</sup>. Blessing the people as a whole, a pattern which did not exist in Egypt, was the privilege of priests and kings<sup>119</sup>, but blessing between individuals was common property. As in Egypt, one might bless in the optative, "May God do such and such for you"; one might also say, "Blessed be you to the Lord"<sup>120</sup>. When blessing to thank people<sup>121</sup>, the reason for the blessing is often mentioned<sup>122</sup>; for example, "David sent messengers to the men of Jabesh-Gilead and said to them, "Blessed be you by the Lord that you have shown this kindness to your lord Saul and buried him"" (2 Sam., II, 5).

Blessings are given on meeting<sup>123</sup>. The reapers greet their employer Boaz, "The Lord be with you", and he answers, "The Lord bless you" (Ruth, II, 4). They are given on parting; the father blesses his son leaving home<sup>124</sup>. As in Egypt, blessings are given at points of transition: the Israelites are blessed on entering the Promised Land<sup>125</sup>; David blesses Solomon when he becomes king<sup>126</sup>; women are blessed at marriage and betrothal<sup>127</sup>. Famous ancestors, both male and female, are used as an ideal in blessing<sup>128</sup>; the newly betrothed Ruth is blessed, "The Lord

make the woman who has entered your household like Rachel and like Leah" (Ruth, IV, 11).

In conclusion, the differences emerging between Egyptian and Israelite intercessory prayer are these: in Israel, the holy man acts as an intercessor; in Egypt, only as a mediator. In Israel, prayer explicitly for the people is much better attested, and models of historical precedent are more prominent in blessing and in assessing one's relationship with God. In Egypt, on the other hand, there is much clearer evidence for the intercessory prayer of ordinary people.

#### NOTES

1. The Late Ramesside letters may be dated between year 1 of the reign of Ramses XI (Edward F. Wente, "Late Ramesside letters", *SAOC* 33 (1967)) i.e. 1100 BCE (John Baines and Jaromír Málek, *The Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, Warminster, 1980, 36) and year 12 of the *whm ms.wt* period (i.e. year 30 of Ramses XI) (Wente, *LRL*, 17), i.e. 1070 BCE (Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, 36). The year 10 date mentioned in *LRL* 17, 11, suggested by Černý, *Community*, 361ff, to be year 10 of Smendes, first king of the XXI Dynasty, has been proved by Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, Warminster, 1973, 20, note 89, to be year 10 of the *whm ms.wt* period.
2. Following Černý, *Community*, 17f, rather than Elizabeth Thomas, *JEA* 49 (1963) 57-63 for the interpretation of the term *hr* which appears in Dhutmose's title.
3. Wente, *LRL*, 5, 9-15. He suggests (p.6), for simplicity's sake, that Dhutmose went once only to Nubia. Černý, *Community*, 377ff, writes in terms of several journeys.
4. *LRL* 8, 12-13; 28, 3; 29, 11; (Wente, *LRL*, 48, note f); 31, 15; possibly 49, 5.
5. Prayers were also said for others travelling on campaign, such as the general's singer Pentahures (*LRL* 34, 2-3), the second prophet of Amun, Hekanakhte (*LRL* 38, 5-7; 39, 12-13) and the general's servant Penher-shefi (*LRL* 38, 14; 40, 4-5), assuming, because Dhutmose's nickname Tja-roy is not written in the way he usually spells it (Černý, *Community*, 365f) that Dhutmose was the recipient, not the sender, of *LRL* nos. 23 and 24. The safe return of general Paiankh (*LRL* 44, 14-15) and the chief bowman Shedsuhor (*LRL* 48, 12-15) is prayed for in the formal blessings at the start of letters addressed to them.
7. Brunner, in *LA* II, 349.
8. *LRL* 2, 2; 2, 7; 2, 11; 4, 2-3; 4, 9; 8, 1; 8, 12; 18, 8; 18, 11; 20, 9; 27, 16; 30, 1; 30, 5; 33, 3; 72, 3. (Wente, *LRL*, 83).
9. *LRL* 5, 15. "Pray": ALEX 77.3588, *LEM* 18, 12 (= Papyrus Anastasi. II, 10, 4); Papyrus Chester Beatty I verso C3, 8-9; Papyrus Harris 56b, 2; *LES* 15, 11. "Consecrate offering, offer": ALEX 77.3586; 78.3530; Kitchen, *Ram. Inscr.* II, 249, 7.

10. LRL 2,11. *swmn* is mostly translated "coax, cajole" (Gardiner, in JEA 42(1956) 18) or "flatter" (ALex 77.3450, Brunner, in LA II, 453). The implication of implied superiority over the object of one's attentions may be appropriate for inferiors (Ricardo A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe: Papyrus Pushkin* 127, Oxford, 1977, 53) and possible for equals (LEM 9,13 = Papyrus Bologna 1094, 10,5; Caminos, LEM 510 = Papyrus Turin A vs 4,8; ZAS 6(1868 4) but probably the translation "plead" would be more suitable for *swmn* applied to superiors and gods. One might compare the dangerous Shasu of Papyrus Anastasi I 23,8, who are said not to listen to *swmn* (Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, Series I, Part I, *The Papyrus Anastasi I and the Papyrus Koller, together with the parallel texts*, Leipzig, 1911, 35- 6).

11. LRL 2,2; 4,3; 4,10; 8,2; 8,12; 18,10; 28,2; 30,1; 30,5; 33,4; 72,5.

12. LRL 2,11; 5,15; 11,14; 18,11.

13. Intercessory prayer requests for Dhutmose:

COMMAND	CONDITION	+DANGER	+HOMECOMING
	Alive 18,10	war, 8,12-13 <i>y'r</i> , 2,2-3	4,10-11
BRING	Prosperous 8,2 LPH 30,1-2; 30,5	danger, 28,1-4	28,1-4; 72,5-8 33,4
	Unspecified	<i>y'r</i> , 4,3	
SAVE	Unspecified 2,11; 5,14; 11,14	danger, 18,11	

14. *y'r n3mjjj*, LRL 2,3; *y'r*, LRL 4,3 (see Wente, LRL, 19); this other war, LRL 8,12-13; many dangers, LRL 18,11; danger, LRL 28,3.

15. Note 13, and, in formal blessings at the start of the letters LRL 3,3-4; 7,9-10; 14,7-10; 17,8-10; 27,10-11; 29,9-10; possibly, if sent to Dhutmose (Wente, LRL 16-17) LRL 22,12-13 and 66,9-10; and sent by Dhutmose, LRL 71,13-14.

16. LRL 31,14-16; 30,7-8 as emended by Wente, LRL 49, note m.

17. LRL 4,10-11; cf. 72,5-8.

18. LRL 3,4; 4,10-11; 28,2.

19. Blackman, MES 41,12-42,1 mentions thanking God and embracing friends on landing; Blackman, MES 45,10-11 and 45,6 promise embracing one's children on arriving home. Cf. LRL 23,9-10; 28,5-6, and the remarks of A. Deissler, *Le Livre des Psaumes 76-150*, Paris, 1968, 157 and A.A. Anderson *The Book of Psalms, New Century Bible*, vol.2, London, 1972, 749, 750f, 754f on Psalm 107, vv. 4-9, 23-32.

20. LRL 4,5-6; 5,15; 8,1-2; 12,7-8; 12,13; 18,8-11. Taking water, LRL 5,14-15; 30,9; 32,2-4.

21. LRL 30,3-5. The word *sn.w*, brothers and sisters, may denote cousins, nephews, or inlaws. Morris Bierbrier, in: JEA 66(1980) 104ff; Gay Robins, in: CdE LIV, 107(1979) 202.

22. LRL 1,1-4, referring to 2,2-3; 2,5-7; 4,9-11; 8,9-13; 13,9-10; 27,16-28,4; 29,16-30,2.

23. Erika Feucht, in: LA III, 429. In the New Kingdom the term *'dd šrj* = very small child.

24. LRL 2,9-12.

25. As Brunner, in: *LA* II, 453.
26. I.E.S. Edwards, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, 4th Series: Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the New Kingdom*, vol.I, London, 1960, 13 on the term *ms pr mw.t*, ward of the Temple of Mut. The similar term *ms hr*, ward of the Tomb, is used in contexts of the young person assisting in minor tasks, which may be what the children are doing in this instance (Černý, *Community*, 117-120).
27. Gods to whom intercession for Dhutmose is addressed in the *LRL*: Amun is addressed alone in 2,7; 11,16; 20,9; and in conjunction with *mr.t sgr* and *jmn tñ nfr* in 4,10. Amun of the Thrones of the Two Lands is addressed alone in 4,2; 8,1; 11,13; 18,11; 30,5; 33,3; in conjunction with *mr.t sgr* in 2,2; and in conjunction with *mr.t sgr*, *jmnhtp*, (*nfr.tjrjj*), *jmn tñ nfr*, *hw.t hrw*, *jmn dsr s.t* in 72,3-5. Amun of *hnm nhhs* is addressed in conjunction with *mr.t sgr*, *jmnhtp*, *nfr.tjrjj*, *jmn dsr s.t* in 18,8-9. Amenhotpe is addressed alone in 30,1.
28. *LRL* 3,2-3; 30,6-7 which are actually the initial blessings of letters.
29. *LRL* 30,6-8; 31,14-16. (30,6-8 as emended by Wente, *LRL*, 49 note m).
30. *LRL* 2,9-12; 5,14-15; 31,11-12.
31. *LRL* 5,14-15; 11,13.
32. *LRL* 5,14; 11,13; 32,2-3.
33. *LRL* 32,2-3.
34. *LRL* 29,16-30,1.
35. Brunner, in: *LA* II, 817.
36. Cf. Ch. Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech*, Le Caire, 1928, 252-3, 1.121. 3, and Posener, *Littérature et Politique dans l'Egypte de la XIIème dynastie*, 1956, 90.
37. *LRL* 8,1; 31,16.
38. *LRL* 30,8, and *b3k* 28,4.
39. Evgeni S. Bogoslovsky, in: *BECHMK* 121(1972) 97-103 and English summary, 105. (Note, however, that not everybody who sets up stelae or participates in religious rites calls themselves a *b3k* of the god in question).  
Also: Brunner, in *LA* IV, 956; Assman, "Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott", *MAS* 19(1969) 291; Pascal Vernus, *BIFAO* 75(1975) 109f, note q.  
It is possible that the term *b3k* + god denoted a member of a religious organisation dedicated to that god. However, the existence of such organisations in the Ramesside period, while likely, is still unproven. See Françoise de Cénival, "Les associations religieuses en Egypte d'après les documents démotiques", *BdE* XLVI(1972) 141; *LA* III, 848f, disproving Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 84ff; Lüdeckens, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, 20(1968) 196-198.
40. Dhutmose might also have had a devotion to Mereseger, who in *LRL* 18,8-9 is described as his "mistress". The introductory blessings *LRL* 38,4; 39,9; 41,12 (restored); and 42,14-15 describe Amun-Re' king of the gods as the "lord" of the recipient, who is probably Dhutmose.  
Note that many of the votive stelae of Deir el-Medineh were set up in



honour of several gods rather than one single god. Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 110, shows someone who describes himself as the servant of one god going to consult the oracle of another. Apparently this relationship of devotion to one god did not exclude the worship of other deities.

41. *jnk hm.k* I am your servant (See *LA* IV, 956 for the term *hm*). Theban graffito 1573,1-4; *jmn ns.tjj t3 wjj* is addressed in 2ff; translated by Černý, *Community*, 374. I am very grateful to Dr. Jaromír Málek of the Griffith Institute, Oxford, for sending me a copy of Howard Carter's copy of this text.

42. *LRL* 30,6-8. Hellmut Brunner, *Grundzüge der Altdgyptischen Religion*, Darmstadt, 1983, 111, describes "lord" as protector. Marek Marcinak, *Les inscriptions hiératiques du temple de Thoutmosis III*, Varsovie, 1974, N° 24,6 *jr nfr n.j jnk p3jj.t b3k*. Do good to me: I am your servant. N° 2,2; 46,1; 47,1-3; 73,1; 74,2 are variants of *jr nfr n X p3jj.t b3k*, Do good to X your servant; 77,1 *jr nfr n p3jj.t hm*, Do good to X your servant; 90,2 and 141 (reading *p3jj(t) pr*) also stress the writer's contact with the goddess as a reason for her to grant their prayers.

43. Morenz, *Aegyptische Religion*, Stuttgart, 1960, 101-104.

44. *s3w '.wjj (j) dj.k ph(j) jm3h m jr mj jr n.k n jtj(j) sš nswt (m) s.t m3't dhwtjms*, Guard my limbs; let me reach the revered state; do not do what you did to my father, the king's scribe in the Place of Truth, Dhutmose. Theban graffito 1573, as note 41.

45. Brunner, in: *LA* II, 349.

46. Bakir, *Epistolography*, 55, 62f.

47. Horus of Kubban, *LRL* 4,8-9; 17,6; 71,11-12; Hershefit and Thoth, *LRL* 1,4-5; 9,4; Khnum, Satis and Anukis, *LRL* 51,15-16.

48. The blessing as a whole is resumed by the end position adverbs *r' nb*, every day, or *m mnt*, daily; see Černý-Groll, *LEG*, 8,9,1.i-ii, and Gardiner, in: *RdE* 6 (1951) 126, note a.

49. *LRL* 24,16; 26,1-2; 27,5-6; 28,16-29,2; 33,13-14; 38,10-11; 39,15-16; 48,10; 51,15; 67,7-8.

50. Assman, "Der König als Sonnenpriester", *ADAIK* 7 (1970) 66, note 2, suggests that this was purely a private cult, not a private involvement in the official sun cult.

51. Bakir, *op.cit.*, 61f.

52. Davies, *Mél.Masp.*, I, 241-250, describes shrines built by the workmen of Deir el-Medineh near their overnight huts, and suggests (249) that similar shrines may have existed elsewhere.

53. *LRL* 1,4-5; 9,4-5; 13,3-4; 33,13-15; 38,2-3; 38,10-11; 39,6-7; 39,15-40; 54,6-7; 55,5-7. A variant of this phrase *ntr nb ntr.t nb.t ntjj tw.j (hr) ptrj.w m p3 hr* (O DEM 130,3-4), Every god and goddess whom I see in the Tomb, might indicate that the workmen prayed while they worked to the deities depicted on the walls and ceiling of the Royal Tomb.

54. See Georges Posener, in: M. Heerma van Voss, ed., *Studies in Egyptian Religion, Studies in the History of Religions* (Supplements to Numen) XLIII, Leiden, 1982, 121-126. pDEM XV might also be interpreted as a request by the writer that his mother should intercede for him and persuade the god not to punish him for eating food which he had previously sworn

to avoid, rather than prayer or abstinence undertaken on behalf of someone ill (pp. 123-124). Posener's treatment of O. Berlin P. 11247 (pp. 122-123) implies that intercession might have been undertaken by the recipient as a result of his receiving this letter; I do not think that intercession is explicitly requested here. The phrase *m jr g(rh?) m rmj-t n.j*, Do not cease weeping for me, is not directly related to any god.

55. Mario Tosi, Alessandro Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el-Medina*, Torino, 1972, 88, dates Pay's children to the reign of Ramses II, 1290-1224 BCE. (Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, 36); Pay himself should be dated to the early reign of Ramses II, or to the reigns of Ramses' predecessors.

56. O. Berlin P. 11247.

57. Stela Turin Cat 1553= Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, n° 50052, p.87f.

58. Stela Turin Cat 1553, lower register, 3. The similar term "to see darkness by day" may also refer to the "dark night of the soul" (Gottverlassenheit); see Brunner, in: *LA* I, 830f. He suggests, however, that O. Berlin P. 11247 definitely refers to blindness (col. 829), as does Frans Jonckheere, *CdE* 25, n°50, 1950, 214.

59. *LRL* 11,16; 17,13; 18,3-4; 25,14 (or Amenopenakht?); 43,12 (context broken). Dhutmose was also sick in Middle Egypt: 2,8.

60. Brunner, in: *LA* I, 828; Westendorf, in: *LA* III, 758.

61. J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 1975, 15.

62. Berlin stela 20377. For bibliography, see Pierre Auffret, *Hymnes d'Égypte et d'Israël*, OBO 34, Fribourg, 1981, 20f.

63. 1,7-8 mention *dw3.w*, hymns, and *snmh.w*, prayers, made to the god Amun when Nakhtamun was ill. See Assmann, *op.cit.*, 597, note 35 and Miriam Lichtheim, *AEL*, II, 105. "The contrite admission of guilt has induced the god to show mercy and grant the return of health".

64. Assmann, *op.cit.*, 597.

65. Hermann Gunkel, *Reden und Aussätze*, Göttingen, 1913, 143 and Erman, *Lit*, 383 suggest that the hymns recorded on the stela were those said on that occasion of prayer. It seems, however, that the first of the three should be understood as a hymn of thanksgiving after the cure since it includes the expression *sdđ.j b3.w* (1,1-2) which usually expresses thanks for help already received (Assmann, *op.cit.*, 15).

66. Assmann, *op.cit.*, 353, 598 states that this prayer is by Nakhtamun; in fact, the phrase "He says" preceding this hymn might apply either to Nakhtamun or to Nebre'.

67. L. 10-11.

68. Dixon, in: *JEA* 44(1958) 46; Serge Sauneron, in: *EAFO* 75(1975) 86, note zz, end; Elmar Edel, in: Otto Firchow, *Ägyptologische Studien*, Berlin, 1955, 53; Brunner, in *LA* II, 349.

69. *LEM* 6, 1-3 (= pBologna 1094, 6, 1-3); Nitocris stela 5 (*JEA* 50 (1964), pl. VIII).

70. Blackman, *MES* 47,13.

71. Blackman, *MES* 47,4-5.

72. W. Helck, *Die Lehre des Dw3-htjj*, Wiesbaden, 1970, 150f, O.DEM 1014.5 *dw3 ntr jtj mw.t k dd.jjw hr w3.t nt 'nh.w*. Helck's translation accepts *dd.jjw* as an active participle and *dw3 ntr* as an imperative (p. 150f). Similarly Brunner, *Lehré des Cheti*, 24; Miriam Lichtheim, *AEL*, I, 191; Alexandre Piankhoff, in *RdE* 1(1933) 57 translates "on remercie..."; Erman, *Lit.*, 105 and *ANET*, 434 follow the reading of pSallier II,11.4 *dw3 ntr jtj.f mw.t.f dd.jjw hr w3.t ntt 'nh.w* which they translate as a first present, followed by a stative as a virtual clause of circumstance "his father and mother praise God, he being set upon the way of the living".
- Also: the tomb owner blesses the craftsmen who have worked on his tomb, *Urk* IV 1055.10. The official is blessed by his superior on the successful completion of a mission - Beni Hassan I, pl.8, 13-14; Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p.76, 13. -or on working efficiently at his job, *Urk* IV 530.14-17, 531.1.
- A town might bless a local dignitary for his wise rule - Hellmut Brunner, "Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut, *Agyptologische Forschung* 5(1937) 12 and 67, l. 24 - or his good deeds - *Petosiris*, vol.II, p.83, n°116, l.6. Those who benefited by a private building project were expected to pray for the donor - Kitchen, *Ram. Inscr.*, IV, 289, 3.
73. *Urk* I, 126, 3-4, following Dixon, in: *JEA* 44(1958) 46 who suggests that this refers to calming down the chief of Yam, or Edel, in: Otto Firchow, *op.cit.*, 52ff.
- Also Nitocris stela, l. 5-7 (*JEA* 50(1964), pl.VIII); and *Urk* IV, 259, 5-6 (the courtiers' reaction to the announcement of Hatshepsut's appointment as heir to the throne).
74. Kitchen, *Ram. Inscr.*, I, 65, 6-12; Wolfgang Helck, *Die Lehre für König Merikare*, Wiesbaden, 1977, 20.
75. *Urk* I, 39, 11; 39, 17-40;<sup>2</sup> 44, 9; *Urk* IV, 1468.9.
76. *Petosiris*, vol.II, p.83, n° 116, l. 6.
77. pInsinger, 27, 9. Frantisek Lexa, *Papyrus Insinger*, Tome I, Paris, 1926, 87; Axel Volten, *Das Demotische Weisheitsbuch*, vol.II, Kopenhagen, 1941, 204; Miriam Lichtheim, *AEL*, III, 206, all translate "bless".
78. *Eloquent Peasant*, 196-197.
- Note also Dhutmose's meeting with his superior Paiankh in Elephantine, where Paiankh dismisses Dhutmose *hsjj.tw mntw*, may Montu favour you, *LRL* 7, 15 (Černý, *Community*, 381). This statement has also been interpreted as his thanking Dhutmose for coming (Gardiner, in: *RdE* 6(1951) 117), and as Dhutmose thanking his superior for his rations (Hermann Grapow, "Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten", III, *ADAW* 11, Berlin, 1941, 97f). Greetings which do not invoke gods are also known, such as pWestcar, 7, 23-8, 1.
79. Karnak-Nord IV fig. 143, 3. Also *Urk* IV, 1461, 13-14; Marcinak, *op.cit.*, n°1, 13-18; n°90, 2; Ani 10.11 *j-dd.j n p3 ntr j-dd n.k 'rq.w jmj sw hr w3.t.k* which is translated by Brunner as a request by the son that his father should pray for him (also perhaps Miriam Lichtheim, *AEL*, II, 145); Erman, *Lit.*, 302 and Emile Suys, "La sagesse d'Ani", *Analecta Orientalia* 11(1932) 106 translate this sentence as meaning that the son swears loyalty to his father. 'rq means both "to be intelligent" (*WB*, I, 212, 10-15) and "to swear" (*W B*, I, 212, 17-213, 3); both translations are viable.

80. LEM 62,9-10(=pAnastasi V, 12,5-6); also Günther Roeder, *Kult, Orakel und Naturverehrung im alten Ägypten*, Zürich, 1960, 220; the king prays to Amun to bless the newly-appointed high priest.

One might also pray for one's superior: LEM 10,4-12 (pBologna 1094,10.10-11.15); Urk IV 1419,3; 1451,5; MDAIK 16(1958) 283-285.

81. Brunner, in: LA II,349; Lichtheim, AEL I, 87, l.3 (88, note 1 suggests this may be a funerary cult); Coronation stela of Haremhab, 25-6 (JEA 39(1953), pl.II); Lichtheim, AEL III, 108,115.

82. Kitchen, *Ram.Inscr.*, II, 239,4-10.

83. Georges Posener, *De la divinité du pharaon*, Cahiers de la Société Asiatique XV, CNRS, Paris, 1960, 24-27. Urk IV 1426, 13-16; 1451, 4-5; 1457, 19; 1460, 13-16.

Intercession for the king in letters is combined with wishes for the recipient (or sender) to remain in the royal favour, and is thus not exactly intercessory prayer for the king as such. See Gardiner, in: *RdE* 6 (1951) 118. Blackman, *MES* 33.4-11 is a letter addressed to the king himself; Sinuhe's good wishes to the king are a variation of the usual good wishes of sender to recipient.

84. LA II, 456. "Kultische Gebete zugunsten des Volkes, des Landes, für den Sieg ägyptischen Waffen sind nicht überliefert. Entsprechende Wünsche werden in die Form von Aussagen gekleidet". The king does, however, sometimes pray for a successful inundation (Posener, *op.cit.*,55).

85. Von Beckerath, in: LA III,57.

86. pHarris 42, 1-10; Kitchen, *Ram.Inscr.* II, 249.7-15, Ramses II prays that the convoy bringing his Hittite bride to Egypt may have clement weather; BAR IV, para 747, Orsokon II prays to secure his family's future rule.

87. iv.19 j'h s'h' bt3.f

O Moon, make his crime manifest!

v.1 jjr hm d3jj n.n p3 bjn

Row, ferry the bad man over to us,

.2 jw bn jrjj.n mj.qd.f

And we will not act like him.

.3 tsjj sw jmj n.f dr.t

Raise him, give him a hand,

.4 h3' sw(hr) '.wjj p3 ntr

Place him in the god's arms,

.5 mh h.t.f m t3 m-dj.k

Fill his stomach with your own bread,

.6 s3j.f mtw.f tm

So that he may be satisfied and become ashamed.

(ALex 77.4912, tm = to look down)

This prayer is supposedly spoken by the silent man on behalf of the hot man, who has got into trouble (Irene Grumach, "Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenemope, *MAS* 23(1972) 35).

The prayer opens with an address to Moon-Thoth (Lichtheim, AEL II,150, translates this sentence as a participial statement; Grumach, 30, and following her Brunner, in Walter Beyerlin, *Religions- und geschichtliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, Göttingen, 1975, 77, translates the second half of this sentence as an epithet of Thoth rather than as an imperative.



It is not certain however whether lines 3ff are part of the prayer or whether they represent a conversation between the people to whom the hot man is steered.

88. *jh stp.f*, Černý-Groll, *LEG*, ch. 30, is not used of gods.

89. cf. A. Barucq, *L'expression de la louange divine et de la prière dans la Bible et en Égypte*, Le Caire, 1962, 27f; Brunner, in *LA* II, 454f.

90. Brunner, in *LA* II, 817; IV, 958.

91. Moshe Greenberg, *Biblical prose prayer as a window to the popular religion of ancient Israel*, Berkeley, 1983, 20ff; Greenberg, *Eretz Israel* 16(1980) 47.

Gen.XVIII,30: Abraham to God: Let the Lord not be angry and I will speak.

Gen.XLIV,18: Judah to Joseph: Please my lord, let your servant say a word in my lord's ear and do not be angry with your servant.

Judg.X,15: Israelites to God: Do to us whatever seems good to you.

2 Sam.XIX,27: Mephiboshet to David: Do whatever seems good to you.

Ps.XV,18: Psalmist to God: Forgive all my sins.

1 Sam.XV,25: Saul to Samuel: Forgive my sin.

92. Greenberg, *Er. Isr.*, 48f. The invocation ensures that the prayer reaches the God of Israel rather than any other god.

93. Gen., XXV, 21; Ex., VIII, 12-13; IX, 29-33; X, 18-19; XV, 23-25; 1 K., XIII, 6; XVIII, 42-45; 2 K., IV, 32-34; VI, 17; VI, 18-20; XX, 10-11; Job, XLII, 10; Dan., II, 17-19.

94. Gen., XXV, 21 (Rebekah's barrenness); 1 K., XIII, 6 (healing withered hand); 2 K., IV, 32-4 (Elisha cures widow's child).

95. Ex., VIII, 12-13 (against frogs); X, 18-19 (against locusts); XV, 23-25 (to find sweet water); 1 K., XVIII, 42-45 (Elijah prays for rain). Also Josh, X, 12-13 (sun to stand still); 2 K., VI, 17 (to perceive divine protection); VI, 18-20 (to temporarily blind Syrian army); XX, 10-11 (to reverse shadow on sundial); Dan., II, 17-18 (to understand dream).

96. Ex., XXXII, 11-13; Num., XI, 2; XIV, 13-19; XXI, 5-7; Dt., IX, 25-29; 1 Sam VII, 8-9; 2 K., XIX, 2-5 (= Is., XXXVII, 2-5); Jer., XIV, 7-9; XIV, 19-22; XXXVII, 3; XLII; Ezk., IX, 8; XI, 13; Amos, VII, 2; VII, 5; Joel, I, 19; and cf. Abraham's intercession for Sodom and Gomorrah. Gen., XVIII, 23-32. Jonathan Muffs, *Eretz Israel* 14(1978) 54, discusses the vocation of the prophet as intercessor.

97. 2 Sam., XXIV, 17; 2 K., XIX, 14-19 (= Is., XXXVII, 14-20); 2 Chr., XIV, 11; XX, 5-12; XXX, 18-19; XXXII, 20.

98. Ex., XXXII, 11-13; Num., XIV, 11-19; Dt., IX, 25-29; Jer., XIV, 19-22; Ezk., IX, 8; XI, 13; Amos, VII, 2; VII, 5.

99. Num., XI, 2; XXI, 7; 1 Sam., VII, 8-9; 2 K., XIX, 2-5; Jer., XXXVII, 3; XLII, 1-3.

100. Muffs, *op.cit.*, 49 discusses this passage with additional comments.

101. Other possible motivations:

a) The glorification of God's name: 2 K., XIX, 19 (= Is., XXXVII, 20); Ps., CVI, 47; Jer., XIV, 21; Dan., IX, 19.

b) God's reputation: Ex., XXXII, 12; Num., XIV, 13-16; Dt., IX, 28; Ps., LXXIV,

10. LXXIV, 18.
- c) God's previous commitments to the community: Ex., XXXII, 13; Dt., IX, 27; Ps., LXXIV, 2; Jer., XIV, 21.
- d) The need that God should remain true to his moral nature: Gen., XVIII, 25; Ex., V, 22-23.
- e) The speaker's trust in God: 2 Chr., XIV, 11; XX, 12; Ps., XXV, 20-21; Jer., XVII, 14; XVII, 17.
- See Greenberg, *Er. Isr.*, 49f; S.H. Black, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXXII (1953), 6-11.
102. 1 Sam., VII, 5-6; 2 Chr., XX, 3-13 (which does not have any acknowledgement of sin, and simply asks for deliverance from the emergency); Ezra, IX, 5-15; Neh., I, 4-11; Dan., IX, 3-20; Bar., I-III. These last four texts have a very similar structural basis of confessing sin, acknowledging God to be right, and accepting the punishment. G. von Rad, in: K.H. Bernhardt, (ed.), *Fest. A. Jepsen*, Stuttgart, 1971, 28-31 discusses these texts, and argues that, despite the literary setting of the last two, a communal cultic setting underlies the practice.
103. The inscriptions on statues Cairo JE 44.861 and 44.862 of Amenhotep, son of Hapu express his readiness to act as mediator for people's prayers (Alexandre Varille, "Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep, fils de Hapou", *BdE* XLIV (1968), pp. 25, 31). He was evidently the object of much popular devotion; the writing on the scroll held by each statue is worn away by suppliants touching it (Dietrich Wildung, *Egyptian Saints, Deification in Pharaonic Egypt*, New York, 1977, 88). These statues might have been set up during Amenhotep's lifetime; the epithet *m3' hrw* which describes him in the inscriptions does not necessarily imply that he was dead (Brunner, *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 5) but may describe his status vis-à-vis the god Amun or the king (Wildung, "Imhotep und Amenhotep", *MAS* 36 (1977) 295).
- Generally, *LA* IV, 162, especially J.J. Clère, in: *JEA* 54 (1968) 143-148, who argues that the practice of erecting this type of temple statue was widespread (and therefore, not confined to holy men).
104. Sigmund Mowinckel, *Religion und Kultus*, Göttingen, 1953, 121; Erhard Gerstenberger, *Der Bittende Mensch*, Heidelberg, 1971, 128, note 43 and 131, note 48, end. "Das Gebet auch eines Charismatikers lässt sich aber im Altertum kaum ohne einen rituellen Rahmen denken".
105. Mowinckel, *op.cit.*, 119.
106. Gerstenberger, *op.cit.*, 109.
107. Greenberg, *Prose prayer...*, *supra*, 45.
108. Greenberg, *Eretz Israel*, *supra*, 52.
109. Greenberg, *Prose prayer...*, *supra*, 46.
110. Mowinckel, *op.cit.*, 121.
111. *LRL* 29.16-30.1.
112. The title *hm-ntr whm*, intermediary priest, refers to the mediation of oracles (communication from God to man) rather than of prayers (communication from man to God). Hermann Kees, in: *ZAS* 85 (1960) 141, 143.
113. Greenberg, *Prose prayer*, 17.
114. Lam., II, 19 (addressed to the city of Jerusalem), Lift up thy hands

towards him for the life of thy young children that faint for hunger at the top of every street.

Jonah, I, 6. The ship's captain, who does not yet know that Jonah is a prophet, asks him to pray for the sinking ship.

115. Uriel Simon, *Biblica* 48(1967) 239. Gillis Gerleman, in: *Beiträge zu Alttestamentlichen Theologie* (Fest. Walther Zimmerli), Göttingen, 1977, 136f (suggesting that the point of David's actions might be otherwise, 138f).
116. Gerleman, *op.cit.*, 135, 138.
117. Greenberg, *Prose prayer*, 52
118. Greenberg, *Eretz Israel*, *supra*, 52; B. Courvoyer, in *Revue Biblique* 85(1978) 583-584: to bless someone is in fact to ask God to bless them. Josef Scharbert, in: *Biblica* 39(1958) 26 suggests that some blessings might be secular, although Jacques Guillet, in: *Recherches de Science religieuse* 57(1969) 182 argues that all blessing is religious.
119. Priests Num., VI, 23-26; Dt., XXI, 5; 1 Chr., XXIII, 13; 2 Chr., XXX, 27; Mal., II, 2; David blesses the people at sacrifices (2 Sam., VI, 18 = 1 Chr., XVI, 2) and Solomon blesses them at the foundation of the Temple (1 K., VIII, 14-61).
120. In proper terms, "to bless them by the Lord" (A. Dupont-Sommer, in: *RHR*, CXXX(1945) 22). Guillet, *op.cit.*, 187 states that this is the older and more frequent form. Takamitsu Murakoa in: *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute*, V(1979) 94 argues that *ברוך אתה* is the passive of *ברכתך* ("I beg God to bless you", p.93), and is not necessarily passive.
121. A. Murtonen, in: *Vetus Testamentum*, 9(1959) 170. Ex., XXXIX, 43; Dt., XXIV, 13; Judg., XVII, 2; 1 Sam., XXIII, 24; 2 Sam., XIV, 22; Job, XXIX, 13; Prov., XI, 26; Neh., XI, 12.
122. Greenberg, *Prose prayer...*, *supra*, 34; Courvoyer, *op.cit.*, 584: blessings may also specify how the recipient is to be blessed.
123. Also Ps., CXXIX, 8, greeting of reapers to one another.
124. Gen., XXVIII, 1-4; XXXI, 55; XLIII, 14. Other farewell blessings: Ruth, I, 8-9; 2 Sam., XIII, 25; XIX, 39; 1 K., VIII, 66. See Murtonen, *op.cit.*, 167f.  
The dying patriarch blesses his children, Gen., XXVII, 28-29; 39-40; XLVIII, 9-10; 15-16; 20; XLIX.  
Moses blesses the Israelites on saying farewell to them, Dt., XXXIII.
125. Dt., XXVII, 12; Josh., VIII, 33. They are blessed on going home to their territory, Josh., XIV, 13; XXII, 1-6.
126. 1 Chr., XXIX, 19. The people bless David, 1 K., I, 47, and they shout "God save the king!" at coronations: 1 Sam., X, 24; 1 K., I, 34; 39; 2 Chr., XXIII, 11.
127. Gen., XXIV, 60; Ruth, IV, 11. The couple starting a family are blessed, 1 Sam., II, 20.
128. Cf. the blessing of Abraham, Gen., XXVI, 3-5; XXVIII, 4; XLVIII, 16; and of Ephraim and Manasseh, Gen., XLVIII, 20.